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New Republic

THE CRUSADE UNDERWAY

- IKE'S FIRST APPOINTEE—JOSEPH DODGE
- THE SENATE: NEW FACES—OLD INTERESTS
- T. R. B.'S PREDICTIONS ON IKE'S PROMISES

Reviews of

Francois Mauriac, *LOVED AND THE UNLOVED*

R. P. Blackmur, *LANGUAGE AS GESTURE*

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Letters

Future of the Democrats

● The Democratic Party was more magnificent in defeat than the Republicans were in victory. . . .

It seems to me that the liberal members of the Democratic Party have three functions for the next four years. The first is to keep Adlai Stevenson as head of the party for future election as President of our country. This remarkable man, who combines Jefferson's deep faith in and understanding of democracy, Lincoln's faith in the common man and delightful sense of humor, Wilson's analytical mind and intellectual honesty, and Roosevelt's poise and sophistication, must not be lost to the nation. . . .

The second is to be ready and prepared if the worst happens, *i.e.* if the Republicans attempt to scuttle the social and economic gains of the past 20 years, to protest as often as possible and by every means available; or if the best happens, *i.e.*, that Eisenhower regains control of the Republican Party and attempts constructive action, to encourage the Democratic Congressmen to co-operate in consolidating the gains.

The third can best be illustrated with one of A. E. Housman's poems which ends:

> To think that two and two are four
> And neither five or three
> The heart of man has long been sore
> And long 'tis like to be.

The Republicans have temporarily convinced the majority of the American people that two and two are three. The Democrats must keep insisting that the answer is four in anticipation of the day when the American people also realize it.
University, Ala. ERNEST F. PATTERSON

Funds for Stevenson

● Every Democrat I know feels as Don Wilcox (*NR*, Nov. 17) that we must somehow keep Stevenson as our spokesman. I, for one, would be happy to contribute $5 per month for the next four years for radio and TV. I feel that if he could be heard once each month for the next four years his voice would in reality become the voice of the American people.
Corsicana, Tex. LOIS LAVETT

Party Loyalty

● Will Rogers put it correctly after the Democratic defeat of 1928 when he said that the birds and Democrats all huddled together in a few Southern states after Hoover's landslide. That is somewhat true today! Philosophically, we Democrats can now build a new party in the next four years and be ready to assume the leadership in 1956 under Adlai Stevenson! It would not have made any difference on November 4 last, but many of us maintained that the Southern delegates should have been shown the door in July at the convention.

Party loyalty is a requirement and certain principles cannot be compromised.
Walnut Creek, Calif. TOM KENDALL

"The Tragedy of Eisenhower"

● Please accept my thanks for the terribly true and sad editorial by Irving Brant, "The Tragedy of Eisenhower" (*NR*, Nov. 3).

I am just one of a multitude who, back in July, expected to vote for this popular General whom we had admired so much, when he was victor in Europe over the threat to our civilization.

But as we listened to the accents of greatness from the lips of Governor Stevenson, and watched with agony the compromises and betrayal of all we had hoped from Eisenhower, I changed. Never have I felt greater loyalty to any candidate for the Presidency than I came to feel for Stevenson.

Let us hope that McCarthy, Jenner and Taft will not dictate at Washington the nation's course under Eisenhower. After all more people voted for Stevenson than elected Roosevelt or Truman.
Northampton, Mass. S. RALPH HARLOW

Stevenson's Speeches

● I shall be interested, as I know thousands of other supporters of Governor Stevenson will be, in having all of the Governor's speeches printed and in the book stores as soon as possible. I enjoyed the *New Republic* supplement in which excerpts from some of his speeches were given but I believe, due to their lasting worth and brilliant style, many would enjoy having them all published.

We are all encouraged in the fact that the Democratic Party has a leader of such unmatched acumen, honesty and eloquence even though we lost the election. The winning of it by the Republicans with their spurious issues, falsifications and deceit is certainly not to their credit and the publication of the Governor's words will help us to go about it to put the record straight in the minds of all the people we know. This is much more easily done now rather than to wait for the heat of the next election.

For myself I am looking for a good corner on which to sell apples.
Oxford, Mich. W. E. GRINNELL

[Stevenson's speeches have been published by Random House, and are available for $1. – THE EDITORS.]

How "Wise" the People

● From the article in the *New Republic* of November 10 on chlorophyll: "These facts (debunking chlorophyll) probably would not matter to the customers who, as usual, are looking for a miracle."

Customers, gentlemen, are all of us. They are, in short, voters. The advertising men have made a living for years on the assumption that the American people are silly. I have yet to see any evidence that the advertising men are not right.

Now I'm not going to claim that Eisenhower was elected because "the [voters], as usual, are looking for miracles" but it isn't an impossible assumption. What I am claiming is that the one fallacious assumption is the one held by T.R.B., the *New Republic* generally, and Governor Stevenson—namely, that somehow the American people are "wise." If their immediate self-interests are apparent enough so that no fool could miss them then their vote, from the liberal standpoint, will, of course, be "wise." Otherwise the great bulk of us vote, as people

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Into the China Shop?

Representative Velde was out of town today and could not be reached by telephone, but an associate said that as chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee he doubtless would "pick up the reins, take the bull by the horns and walk off with it." – *From the New York* Times.

It's Time for a Change

Nebraska's Republican Governor-elect said today he favored moving the statue of William Jennings Bryan from its position of prominence on the steps of the Statehouse.

Gov.-elect Robert Crosby said he doubted that Mr. Bryan's "stature in the history of Nebraska justified singling him out for the prominent position his statue now holds." –*From a UP dispatch in the New York* Times.

The Kidd Formula

He [Jackson Martindell, president of the American Institute of Management] told 500 businessmen that "even in the days of piracy there was complete cooperation between management and labor, in the form of the captain and his crew, because they shared equally in the risk and the reward. "This day is coming again." – *From the Los Angeles* News.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IT WAS sometimes hard to discover the "real Eisenhower" while traveling with him in the campaign. In the West and South he was a states'-righter, but at the end, in New England, he suddenly switched into a rousing New Dealer, a cross between Harry Hopkins and Leon Henderson.

Now everybody hopes Ike will improve. Walter Lippmann, an Eisenhower exponent and apologist, puts this feeling well. Writing November 13, Lippmann says, "Nobody knows this [the Korean problem] better than General Eisenhower," and he adds, "as we can see if we forget the stuff and nonsense that was spoken about Korea in the campaign." Exactly so. Ike was obviously feeding voters "stuff and nonsense" during the campaign for the purpose of getting elected; now that this laudable result is happily accomplished, Lippmann has confidence his man will start talking sense. It is an interesting technique and should be incorporated in future editions of Lippmann's famous *Preface to Politics*.

It might be wise to re-examine all of Ike's pledges: more for farmers, better defense, aid for allies, a balanced budget, reduced debt, cut in taxes, a truce in Korea and so on. What is Ike actually likely to do with the conservative GOP-Dixiecrat Congress? After considerable meditation we come up with the following predictions:

1. The $40 billion offshore-oil plum will be handed over to the oil trust instead of being used for federal aid to education. Ike will sign the bill that Truman twice vetoed.

2. Congress will cut taxes this year probably over Ike's protest; the cut will specially aid corporations. Budget balancing can come later.

3. Ike will have to fight for adequate defense appropriations; so-called "economies" of $20 billion promised Taft in two years will actually cut into the defense bone if it should be enacted.

4. Price and wage controls will end.

5. Federal slum clearance and public housing will be left a shadow.

6. Regulatory commissions (like the Federal Trade Commission) will be weakened; oil, natural gas and electric power trusts will have a field-day like the Harding-Hoover era.

7. With booming farm surpluses ahead, GOP Congressmen will ignore Ike's categorical pledge for "full parity," or even "90-percent" parity, given at Kasson, Minn., September 6. This is more Ike "stuff and nonsense."

8. Congress won't end segregation in Washington. Ike must have known it when he made the pledge.

9. Ike will probably succeed in stopping anti-labor groups from banning industry-wide strikes, but unions now face a hostile Taft-Hartley Act revision.

10. The McCarran Immigration Act will be left about as it is; the GOP fight against it was largely cynical, to stir up the foreign-bloc vote.

11. The Reciprocal Trade Act which automatically expires in mid-1953 will be weakened but continued; Ike has big trouble ahead with the GOP here.

12. Korea: Gallup now supports the conclusion that this was the big final issue that aided Ike. Ike can't get a truce in Korea without appeasement and won't want to let the present stalemate continue. Our guess is that he will extend the war, taking the risk of world war III.

Those are our predictions. We see Ike as a well-meaning, patriotic man with immense prestige. He confronts a Congress dominated by Taft and substantially more conservative than Ike. His strength lies in personality, prestige and patronage. He will get a good deal of Democratic support on foreign affairs and doesn't have to worry about opposition from Democratic liberals. Democratic selection of Lyndon John-

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any President who tries to represent national interest; he will be in combat almost from the first with sectional and selfish blocs. He will win his preliminary battles and store up inevitable bitterness and probable hatred among lobbies which he temporarily bests. Ike's more enduring problem is, alas, self-engendered: it is the disillusionment apt to follow the kind of campaign to which he willingly and eagerly lent himself, a huge advertising campaign in which he was the product, sold like patent medicine, guaranteed to solve America's problems cheaply and painlessly. He became associated with hopes for cuts in taxes, truce in Korea and solution of the Cold War. Inevitably his candidacy represented to millions a diminution of national sacrifice as contrasted to Stevenson, who courageously preached the necessity for national endurance.

Anyone who follows the Communists' carefully organized anti-American campaign for the soul of Europe can foretell almost automatically what domestic items will be used against the US. Charlie Chaplin left for Europe to see the premier of his film *Limelight*, and some blabbermouth at the Justice Department hinted that the British comedian, who has never been naturalized, might not be permitted to return. The reasons given seemed frivolous or unconvincing. The opportunity was, of course, just what enemies of America look for gloatingly. Chaplin, apparently contrary to his own desire, has become a symbol in Europe. The *New Yorker* magazine, November 15, tells how the French cheered Charlot in "his latest role—as a political martyr," even though he tried to assure them that "since Roosevelt there hasn't been any poor little forgotten man." In London, Literary Critic V. S. Pritchett, in the *New Statesman*, explains that "fundamentally the American majority hates Chaplin because it hates individualism."

Anti-American sentiment has been fed again just what it wants. If it isn't an attack by McGranery against Chaplin it is by McCarran against the United Nations. The Communists can always count on allies in the United States.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

everywhere have always voted, on the basis of all our accumulated prejudices, mostly not very intelligent. This does not disturb me, as one who voted in this election for Governor Stevenson, because I think our prejudices tend to cancel each other out and think there is just enough good sense behind some free peoples, including ours, to prevent the worst from happening. The "worst" certainly hasn't happened in this election. . . .

Silver Spring, Md. EDWIN L. DALE JR.

Presidential Succession

● The election, almost as surprising as in 1948 confronts us with two serious hazards.

The death of the General during his term would place "Poor Richard" in the White House. The death of both would leave us none other than the Honorable? Joe Martin of No. Attleboro, Mass.

A most unlikely thing perhaps but in this modern day quite possible.

The recent legislation putting the Speaker of the House in line of succession should be given serious consideration.

Portland, Me. ALPHONSUS J. MURPHY

From a Stevenson Supporter

● You were in the forefront of a good fight—hats off!

Orange, N. J. DAVID FELDMAN

Jeffersonianism

● General Eisenhower, in his speech at Richmond, Virginia, on September 26, said that "Thomas Jefferson, if alive today, would gladly and necessarily vote against the New Deal and the Fair Deal in the next election." Eisenhower also said that "Jefferson believed that the central government must not be allowed to grow too powerful. The best government is the least government." And lastly the General said, "The Fair Deal has abandoned Jeffersonian principles."

These statements of Eisenhower are distortions and half-truths. I believe the relationship between Jefferson and the Democratic Party should be cleared up once and for all, and I think a little review of history is worthwhile.

Jefferson's party was created in response to the Federalist Party's tendency to strengthen the federal government and to use its strength to bolster the mercantilism of the seaboard. The conservative Hamilton, Jefferson's arch-enemy, held to the idea that prosperity at the top meant prosperity at the bottom. Jefferson took the opposite view that only a free capitalism geared to protect the inland farmer and the craftsman would insure common prosperity. Devoted as he was to the idea of an agrarian democracy, Jefferson regarded the whole Federalist program as conducive deliberately to the creation of an oligarchy, the rule of a propertied few in the interests of a propertied few. Not yet himself administratively experienced, Jefferson saw no cure for this but an emphasis on states' rights and a narrow construction of the Constitutional powers of the federal government. If this seems strange coming from the founder of the party that subsequently (through Jefferson himself, Jackson, Wilson and FDR) depended on the extension of national authority and a very broad interpretation of the Constitution, it should be remembered that the lack of communications, the provincial values, the absence of a national spirit and of an identity of the people with the new nation, all inhibited the guarding of the interests of the common people on a national level. To be close to them and to protect their interests looked to be impossible if the determining agency in their political destiny were far removed from the scene of their daily lives. Jefferson consequently felt that only by reserving a great body of rights solely to the states could the interests of the common people be protected. There was, therefore, no essential contradiction in his historic position as the founder of the Democratic Party and his overt defense of states' rights against national encroachment. . . .

Jefferson's purpose was to promote in general the economic opportunity of the common man and he sought opportunity for the landed farmer, the frontiersman and the craftsman.

So, in direct rebuke to Eisenhower, I wish to say that if Jefferson were alive today, he would probably be a good Truman Democrat.

St. Louis, Mo. MURRAY WEST

The People Preferred Promises

● Afterthoughts on the election: I believe that Harry S. Truman will go down into the pages of our history books as a much misunderstood and mistreated President who actually accomplished a great deal of good for his country. And I believe that Adlai Stevenson will be heard from more and more in politics and may one day achieve that which Fate has denied him in the present. I also believe that one of the major reasons why the very fine candidate from Illinois failed to win the election was because he chose to "talk sense" to the American people, but the people preferred promises of a rosy future, a future which may well take more of a struggle in the achievement than they count on. And finally I think that we all owe President-elect Dwight Eisenhower our full-hearted support in the many difficult days that must still precede any solution of the nation's problems. . . .

New York City MARGARET N. TAYLOR

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New Republic

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ABE FELLER

"IF WE ARE murderer's row," said Senator McCarran to his committee associates, "maybe we had better start earning our title." They did. Abe Feller, General Counsel of the United Nations, who sprang from a twelfth story window on November 13, was the McCarran Committee's victim as surely as if he had been pushed and not hounded to his death.

Feller was a brilliant lawyer, a dedicated public servant, a gentle and sensitive man. He moved through every chapter of the New Deal. He went on to pioneer in UNRRA and the UN. He helped to draft the UN Charter, man's best hope for peace.

Chapter 15 of the Charter concerns the UN secretariat, whose loyalty and ability shapes the UN day by day. It says:

> In the performance of their duties, the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the organization.

To insure the ability and continuity of the UN secretariat, the charter continues:

> Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

Only by providing this protection against arbitrary intervention by member governments could the UN recruit and keep competent men.

On this basis, the UN recruited 4,500 staff members after 1946. The Russians provided 19 men in the "rated" category and kept them under close guard. The United States provided thousands—individuals unguarded, devoted to a lifetime of service as world citizens. Among them were some idealists whose idealism had led them toward, then driven them away from, Communism. Among them also were a dozen or so members of the Communist Party.

The Secretary-General might have believed that the Communist Party was subversive in the US; but our courts had not found it to be so. He might have decided that no Communist Party member could take the UN oath in good faith, and so have excluded them, at the price of conducting an investigation into the views of all employees. He concluded instead that an organization made up of member nations of all faiths could not define its political character.

The United States Government might also have intervened to recommend or reject all appointments of American citizens. It did not, because in 1946 there was no loyalty investigation for the US Government itself. More important, the articles of the charter, placing the secretariat beyond the grasp of arbitrary action by member governments, was a triumph of Western thought over the Soviet contention that no man can be placed beyond the reach of the state to which he belongs. To claim a veto power over American citizens in the secretariat would have been (and is today) to arm the Communists with a powerful weapon to drive every political exile out of international life.

That, of course, is what the Russians seek. In 1948 the Communists seized control in Czechoslovakia. Instantly they demanded that all Czechs in the UN Secretariat be fired and replaced by men loyal to the new regime. A dramatic battle followed when Jan Papanek refused to give in and was backed by the full power of the United States. The battle was fought over and over, as Communist Party dictatorships were established. Each time the United States defended the integrity of the secretariat from politically directed raids.

Then we betrayed the principle we had established.

It began when the Grand Jury investigating Hiss turned to examine Hiss's work in helping to staff the UN. The Grand Jury moved with caution and restraint until this year. Then, when McCarran threatened to take over unless it produced results, it broadened its inquiry—liaison was established with the McCarran Committee. Steady leaks developed to the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press. Alliances were established with Americans within the UN.

Lie was trapped, and with him Abe Feller. They recognized that no member of the secretariat should be able to use his UN post to carry on illegal activity against his own government. They knew also that if members of the secretariat could be forced out every time a government changed hands, no Latin American experts, for example, would have any tenure at all.

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They understood that the Communist Party is still a legal party in America. They were ready to fire Communists for disloyal acts against the UN. They could hardly fire them, by any standards acceptable to member nations, for present opinions and certainly not for opinions held prior to the time they joined the UN. They considered that it was hard enough for the UN to handle legal pressures from member governments. In this case, they knew they were dealing with non-legal pressures from one faction of a member government. To these pressures they had no possible way of making sound adjustments. It was illegal for the McCarran Committee to apply the pressures. It would be illegal for Lie to conform to them.

Yet the McCarran Committee bore down on the UN, and the US was providing the home of the UN and 35 percent of its funds. The State Department began quietly to feed in the names of secretariat members it found objectionable. Byron Price, the Assistant Secretary-General, seeming to form his judgments solely on American pressures, argued for their dismissal. Feller, in contrast, a man of deep conscience and responsibility, too became convinced suspected Communists without permanent contracts should be fired to protect the UN. On Feller's recommendation Lie began to dismiss them.

Then the McCarran Committee moved into Foley Square. Feller begged them to postpone their hearings until after the Assembly meeting. The committee refused. It summoned 14 witnesses. Some were charged with Communist activity 20 years before; some with being relatives or friends of known or suspected Communists. All were questioned about their work in the UN, although the UN Assembly alone has this right. In reply many of the witnesses followed usual Communist procedure, claiming their constitutional right to refuse to answer any questions.

Many of these witnesses damaged the UN. One, Stanley Graze, refused even to deny that he was engaged in espionage against the United States. The last place to conduct such espionage would be between the glass walls of the UN. But Graze and others gave the committee ample excuse for its intervention. Obviously action was necessary. Obviously the Secretary-General could not surrender control of his own organization, or disregard due process of law. Feller was destroyed because he sought compromise where none was offered.

Feller hoped for self-restraint from the committee in return for co-operation from the UN. Instead the committee clearly violated the UN Charter in demanding that Lie fire the staff members it named and revise its contracts. Committee members declared that the UN must oust "spies and saboteurs" or be thrown off US soil.

Feller urged witnesses to answer all questions. At least one witness complied. At the end of his testimony, that man was told, "Now prepare for us a list of all members of the secretariat who voted for Wallace in 1948." "I cannot!" he protested. "Why not!" the interrogator answered. "Others have done it."

Feller arranged that witnesses who refused to answer questions would be suspended until a committee of three leading jurists could review their cases and the law. Ten witnesses were suspended. The committee was appointed. Before it could meet, Lie fired three of the ten men.

The secretariat was demoralized by these retreats. Delegations from other nations concluded that since Lie had given way on basic principles, matters of procedure were not worth a fight with the US. So Lie and Feller were left in no-man's land. When Lie resigned, without warning or justification, McCarran and Moscow issued almost identical statements. Feller was entirely alone.

He chose the way of sacrifice. What did it accomplish? The Senate committee expressed no regret. McCarran implied Feller himself was under suspicion. Bred to indifference, two-thirds of a nation shrugged its shoulders: If he wasn't guilty why did he do it?

Five years of witchhunts have left their mark on America. A whole generation of adults has come to believe that a man charged by slander is guilty until proved innocent; a whole generation of adolescents has come to identify "Americanism" with complete and unthinking conformism; a whole generation of children has been taught by heart the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag and has no notion of what is written in the Bill of Rights. We are committed to the death against dictatorship by the state. We are moving toward our own form of death—dictatorship by society. Both suppress the individual mind and conscience; both deify the collective prejudice and fear. Between the two there is no final contrast; the difference is one of degree.

Against this threat Abe Feller protested in the only way he felt was left for him. For the rest of us, life bears responsibility. We need to voice the truths he knew, and too many have forgotten or never learned.

We do not own the United Nations because it stands on our soil. We do not purchase its conscience when we pay a third of its rent. We are a part, and not the largest part, of what is worth saving in the free world. Without the United Nations, strong in its own right, free in its own will, neither the good nor the bad is likely to be saved.

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THE WEEK

THE HYDROGEN BOMB

The long awaited news has at last come: the United States has succeeded in setting off a hydrogen bomb. The explosion, by far the most violent ever made by man, took place at 7:15 a.m. on the morning of November 1, on an atoll about 35 miles from Eniwetok in the Marshall Islands.

The Atomic Energy Commission, which announced the fact in guarded scientific terms on November 16, apparently had its hand forced because sailors were permitted to write home uncensored letters describing the event —a breach of security so colossal we are compelled to wonder whether it was intentional. These letters speak of great heat and bright light even at a distance of 35 miles, of a flame two miles wide and five miles high, and of seeing the atoll turn bright red, begin to burn, and disappear after six hours.

Whether the hydrogen bomb will ever be useful for military or any other purposes, we still don't know. That it could be made has long seemed highly probable; some information about it was stolen by Russian agents even during World War II.

In making the bomb two forms of heavy hydrogen are combined, under intense heat, into helium, with one neutron left over, and this surplus neutron is converted into energy under Einstein's well-known formula; the heat required is furnished by setting off a plutonium bomb of what must now be called the "old-fashioned" sort. Although plutonium bombs are limited as to the scope of each explosion by the fact that an amount of more than a few pounds when put together goes off spontaneously, in theory there is hardly any limitation to the size of the hydrogen bomb.

Our experts believe that if Russia were to set off a hydrogen bomb, we would know it, and this has not taken place. There is no reason to believe, however, that she is not capable of doing so.

If such bombs were ever to be used in war, the United States has far more targets justifying their use than has Russia, and they are a lot easier to reach. The news from Eniwetok is no cause for rejoicing. Rather it should make us work far harder to see whether peace is possible.

FARM EVICTIONS

The US District Court in Arkansas has ruled on a case which affects hundreds of farmers who are buying farms from the Farmers Home Administration. The test case was brought to court by Joe Larkin, a Negro who purchased a small farm 12 years ago on what was then known as the Farm Security Administration's Wolf Project near McGehee, Ark.

During the last world war, Congress abolished the Farm Security Administration and set up the FHA, a lending agency for farmers with good credit ratings. The new agency immediately made changes in the agreement and contracts originally signed by the purchasers, and many farmers, like Larkin, who had partially paid for their holding, began to be evicted. By 1950 it appeared that every Negro farmer on the Wolf Project would be forced off the FHA program. Larkin and other members of the National Agricultural Workers Union (AFL) organized to fight the evictions. They had made their annual payments on the farm and had carried out the crop program required.

Members of the local union raised $250 to help Larkin pay court costs. Last week, the US District Court in Arkansas ordered agents of FHA to give Larkin a new contract providing for an out-right deed to his farm, with the mortgage held by the government for the balance due. The judge, in effect, ordered FHA to stop evicting farmers from their lands without a reason.

CIO CONTROLS SHIFT

Since the Korean War the CIO has been one of the staunchest advocates of an effective stabilization program, including price and wage controls. One of the last acts of its late President, Philip Murray, however, was to chart a new approach to our economic problems which attests to a fundamental change in economic as well as political climate.

In his annual report to the CIO, released on November 17 after his death, Murray said that price controls had been in the process of self-liquidation for months. With a weak law, soft markets in some parts of our economy, collapsing production controls, he saw no need of maintaining the present controls program at all.

What Murray advocated, instead, was strong standby controls so that if an excessive price rise should again threaten, the machinery would be at hand to control it. It took months after the Korean War to establish price controls.

Underlying this new approach was the mounting trend, seen by CIO economists and many government economists as well, to excessive deflation. They fear not rising prices in the immediate future but an economic down-turn, particularly after the leveling off of defense production.

Some of the danger signs detected are the growing inventories of both durable and non-durable goods, declining consumer buying power and lack of any substantial savings by low-and middle-income groups which could be converted into spending.

The report was compiled some time before the election and the Republican victory. Republican pledges to cut taxes, balance the budget, restrict credits and subsidies would, seemingly, encourage the deflationary trend.

The CIO's new President, to be selected at Atlantic City early in December, will find that a new economic program will be high on the list of major work ahead.

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OUR LINE of border bastions from West Germany through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey dissolves into the chaos of Iran. Some 700 miles west of Iran is Egypt and the Suez Canal—main headquarters and supply center for the entire defense system south of the Turko-Russian border. If Egypt should choose, or be forced into Iran's role of enmity to the west, the sandwiched Arab states would be lost. The whole southeastern segment of the Mediterranean arc would be defenseless and our positions in Greece and Turkey weakened by the lack of a supporting position.

Egypt, like the entire Middle East, is seared by desperate human need, and by a rampant nationalism exploding as Britain's power wanes. Hatred of the British, the result of English intervention and privilege since the revolt of 1882, has been exploited by succeeding Egyptian governments to mask corruption and incompetence until, under the Wafd, it flared into vicious rioting. The result of this deliberately fostered public rage has been to force Egypt into an inflexibility often detrimental to her own best interest.

Now, under Maj.-Gen. Mohammed Naguib, a new trust, a new confidence, has fired a people accustomed to treachery. The Wafd has been faced down, reforms instituted, and Naguib has called for a new Egypt destined to greatness and leadership in the Middle East. While his people found a new pride, the rest of the world waited.

After almost four months, Naguib has indicated his position on the issues which most concern the free world: "As a soldier," he has said, "I know Egypt cannot stand alone. But the average Egyptian knows nothing of strategy. Neutrality sounds most attractive to him. To convince the people of their own best interest, our leadership must give something concrete so as to make them understand their sacrifices are worthwhile. My people will never be satisfied until British occupation ceases."

Before Egypt will agree to joint defense efforts, then, the old, old problems must be settled: evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone, and agreement on the future of the Sudan.

Within the Sudan are the headwaters of the Nile; Egypt depends upon the Nile for its very existence. She has fought British control of the area since Kitchener conquered it in 1898. Both the 1946 and the 1951 attempts to modify the treaty of 1936 foundered on this question. As a result, Egypt proclaimed Farouk King of the Sudan.

Now Naguib has broken the deadlock by agreeing to the British sponsored constitution guaranteeing Sudanese self-determination, on the condition that during the transitory home-rule period of the British Governor-General be supervised by a commission composed of one Englishman, one Egyptian, two Sudanese and one Indian or Pakistani. There is doubt that Naguib would tolerate a Sudanese decision to enter the British Commonwealth, but the issue is removed from the sphere of emotion to one of concentration upon problems susceptible of solution.

England's willingness to evacuate the Canal Zone will depend upon one condition: that it be protected. Aware of England's diminishing ability to do it alone, Churchill has proposed that defense of the Canal be an international responsibility. Yet, since multilateral forces would probably be unavailable except in the case of actual invasion, the question is Egypt's strength, which will depend upon Naguib's success in creating a stable regime backed by strong military forces. Despite popular support, Naguib's land-reform program will be opposed by powerful landlords. And despite political reforms, the lower echelons of the Wafd are untouched; it is the only political party organized down to the village level, and it still defies Naguib. Committed to new elections, Naguib may ignore them if the old groups threaten to take over. In that case the *Junta* of nine military officers would rule under Naguib. Who are they? and what would be their role? And what the role of the ex-Nazis who replaced the British military advisers?

To maintain a strong army, Naguib would need Western aid. But the Arab states are still at war with Israel.

Israel will demand aid proportionate to that given all her enemies. The Arab states, on the other hand, have threatened an economic boycott if West Germany carries out the agreement to send Israel $715 million worth of goods over the next 12 years as compensation for war crimes. Naguib's flexibility is limited here. Egypt formed the Arab League in 1945 to achieve leadership of the Arab world. If Naguib succeeds in transforming Egypt, that leadership, so far held by default, can become vital and provide him with a means of achieving the stature he seeks for Egypt.

The Middle East must be armed. Yet even if the Anglo-Egyptian problems are resolved, the Arab-Israel deadlock remains. On the other hand, an Arab-Israel treaty would mean enormous economic and social gains for the entire area.

There is reason for hope. Israel has announced she will free the bank deposits of Palestinian Arab refugees, and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion has reiterated his willingness to talk peace. The Arab nations have refused such conversations in the past, but Naguib may find a way to modify this stand without alienating the other Arab states. The most emotional issue is the plight of the Arab refugees. Any effort to alleviate their condition would decrease tension and help clarify the best interests of all. Most in need of clarification is the nature of the threat posed by Russia. To the people of the Middle East, this threat is unreal. It required Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia to awaken them to a sense of danger in 1935. This time less dramatic means must be found to turn their attention from historical grievances to unified effort and alliance with the West.

TOM FITZSIMMONS

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A BELATED BID FOR FRENCH VOTES

EUROPE, not Asia, comes first for President-elect Eisenhower. And in Europe, France comes first, not Germany. At seven o'clock on the morning after the election, minutes after Governor Stevenson had conceded defeat, Eisenhower addressed a personal message to France—his first to a foreign country. And the timing and purpose of the gesture strongly suggests an intention to apply to the diplomacy of European unification a version of the political tactics which not only united the Republican Party but also produced a plebiscite of "fellow-travelers."

An overwhelming majority of French men and women (and of all Western Europeans) would have preferred Stevenson speaking as the next US President. Never had there been such interest in a US election, and never had a candidate started with such great advantages of sympathy and support, then thrown them away. Eisenhower's prestige drained away so completely because of the compromises and surrenders of the campaign: at the end European faith in him had become fear both of the change in him and of the change he might make in US policy.

The liberator of Europe was thought the captive of two groups of GOP know-nothings, either or both of which might damage the true cause of freedom: neo-isolationists who could conceivably maneuver toward a gradual abandonment of Europe; and roll-back adventurers, from John Foster Dulles to James Burnham, who seem willing to risk the final destruction of Europe in an atomic war. On the eve of the election, the most pro-US and almost the only pro-Eisenhower French journalist said: "Political ignorance, and the fanatical excesses of nationalism and anti-Communism are behind Eisenhower. His victory would be their victory over intelligence."

Yet, knowing all this, perhaps because of all this, Eisenhower made his radio statement. He spoke of the long history and the permanence of Franco-American friendship, and of the need to go ahead with Europe's great effort to forge a shield against obvious Soviet ambitions.

He might have felt it urgently necessary to make up for his gratuitous slur on the French as atheists lacking the moral fiber needed for modern crusading. He knew French hackles were up because of his reference to Konrad Adenauer as his best friend in Europe, and because of the implication that he favored good German guns and gunmen to atheistic French intellectuals in the new European balance of power.

This situation had already led the General to take an unusual step. Some weeks before the end of the campaign, he sent a personal letter to Defense Minister René Pleven which confused rather than explained the purpose behind it. But the fact of a letter at all was an implied apology. Unfortunately, the GOP gave out the letter without Pinay's prior knowledge, and the result was to chalk up another error.

Another and perhaps better reason for Eisenhower's statement might be that he was continuing the conduct of the previous months. He was out to get votes, this time of enough French National Assembly members to assure ratification of the EDC treaty. This is probably true. After all, as another French commentator points out, the 31 million US citizens who elected Eisenhower also chose the leader of some hundreds of millions of (voteless) Europeans.

But behind this reason lies the real one—application to the problem of European unification of successful campaign tactics. The campaign job was to get the Taft and Dewey wings working together. The Europe job is to get France and West Germany working together. After the bitterness of the convention, Taft was harder to get than the GOP Liberals, and the General made more concessions to him. In Europe, France is harder to get: hence, the radio statement.

The immediate reaction in France to Eisenhower's election was surprise, shock and gloomy disappointment—then a quick change. The case of the *Monde* of Paris is illuminating. This newspaper is at once the most objective and influential news sheet in the country; the most vigorous champion of "respectable" neutralism; and yet the organ of elements in the present French Government. Its first edition after the election results were known played up doubts about Eisenhower; its second edition shifted to material praising the General and looking forward to the glory rather than the danger of the change he promises.

After the Eisenhower statement, the French (government-run) radio went to town. It devoted its commentary from the US to long excerpts from the New York *Journal-American*, (the true voice of America!), the *World-Telegram*, the *Herald Tribune* and the *Times*—not a word from any other US newspaper. By the next morning, Premier Antoine Pinay was leading a chorus of praise, and only the left-wing papers continued to be doubtful. The Communists, of course, said the worse of the two capitalist gangsters had won, and all over Western Europe, the Right hailed Eisenhower's election as *its* victory. But certainly, if the General lends himself to nationalism, it will not be European; he is sincerely and passionately in favor of European internationalism. The two problems are the relationships of the national parts within that whole, specifically France and Germany; and the relationship of a possible US nationalism to the Atlantic and world patterns.

The President-elect's rather unusual bid to the French seems to be a sensible recognition that Europe's problem is more immediate than Asia's (politically speaking), and that France's support is more urgently needed for the EDC, NATO and SHAPE than Germany's. Here the question is *what* French—the people as a whole, or a faction, or even a party coalition? European liberals, and not only in France, are waiting hints about the new President's policy in Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco to see whether there will be a Taftish "deal" by which he will "buy" votes of the Right for the EDC in exchange for temporary tolerance, if not support of the Right Old-Guardisms of nationalism and colonialist imperialism.

ROME PERCY WINNER

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EISENHOWER'S MAN DODGE

by Henry Coates

THE FIRST ACT of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President-elect was the appointment of Joseph M. Dodge, Detroit banker, industrialist and international expert, as his fiscal adviser and representative in the Bureau of the Budget. Dodge will serve in the interim period before the new Administration takes office.

If this appointment, as reported, was made only for the purpose of accumulating information and briefing the incoming President on the fiscal realities which he will face, then the General may have made a wise choice. Dodge is recognized as one of the most knowledgeable men in finance and international economics.

However, if Eisenhower selected Dodge with the ultimate intention of placing him in some key, policy-determining position such as that of Director of the Budget, then some of the worst fears of those who warned against Republican economic policies may be realized. Dodge is the embodiment of the hard money man who would advocate counteracting inflation by restrictive money and credit measures, and an ultra-balanced budget with its consequent unemployment and concentration of economic power. These were the kinds of programs which he recommended for postwar Germany and Japan.

It is rather difficult to appraise the appointment of Dodge as anything other than a carefully considered choice. Seemingly it would indicate to the business community the probable economic policy that the new Administration will pursue. There is little reason to believe that the President-elect would select as his key, first appointment a man whose views and past policies are vastly different from those he intends to follow himself.

Even after his appointment, Dodge remains a man unfamiliar to most Americans. The paucity of stories on his background and his point of view is surprising. Dodge has a record and a decidedly clear one.

The Chicago *Tribune* calls Dodge, now 62, a "self-made man in the free enterprise tradition." A native Detroiter, he started as a bank messenger and is now probably the most powerful figure in the Detroit financial world. He is president of the Detroit Bank, oldest bank in Michigan, and past-president of the Michigan Bankers Association, American Bankers Association and the Association of Reserve City Banks. He is also a director of the Chrysler Corporation, Standard Accident Insurance Company and Plant Insurance Company as well as trustee of the Equitable Life Insurance Company of Iowa.

In the past 11 years he has become one of the top advisers and operating officials in the field of US foreign financial policy.

Dodge first served the United States Government in 1941. He held various posts until September, 1945, when Gen. Lucius Clay, then Military Governor of Germany, brought him to that country to head up his Finance Division. Dodge replaced Col. Bernard Bernstein, on loan from the US Treasury Department, generally considered the birthplace of the tough Morgenthau Plan. Dodge fitted into Clay's plans for Germany much better. And it may be Clay, very close to Eisenhower, who recommended Dodge to the incoming President.

Also in the German Military Government at the time was Maj.-Gen. William H. Draper Jr., head of the Economic Division. Reports emanated from Germany of differences between the two, but it ultimately developed that the differences were those of methods and techniques and not of basic policy. It was Draper and Clay who thwarted the German decartelization program, and later the hand of Draper and Dodge was seen in a similar role in Japan.

It is in Japan, rather than Germany, however, where the details and the resulting consequences of Dodge's fiscal policies are easiest to observe. Dodge served from 1949 to July, 1952, as US Minister and financial adviser to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in the Far East. In August, 1952, he was appointed consultant to Secretary of State Dean Acheson on financial and economic matters affecting Japan.

Concurrently with Dodge's coming to Japan, the Third Economic White Paper was issued by the Economic Stabilization Board of the Military Government on March 12, 1949, describing the current economic situation in Japan. The White Paper reported a relatively steady increase in production, a slowing down of inflation and a gradual rise in real wages. Much of this favorable climate was attributed to American aid. During 1947 and 1948, the White Paper reported, exports had more than doubled but, unfavorably, the import excess also doubled. Another difficulty listed was the extremely slow rate of industrial capital accumulation at a time when so much of Japanese production equipment was in need of repair.

At this point Dodge took over. He said that the Japanese economy was on "stilts." One stilt was US aid and the other was internal subsidies. He intended to cut down each stilt. His program called for austerity, defla-

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tion and a severe American retrenchment policy. The London *Economist* for April 16, 1949, evaluating this program, reported:

All this is, of course, sound, realistic, threatening talk, with a proper expert's warning for Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's new conservative government. But it presages also the sort of action and development for which the Japanese Communists are devoutly praying. It implies austerity, hard work, unemployment, stream-lining of the traditional Japanese bureaucracy and an eventual review and curtailment of starry-eyed American social services for the Japanese people.

Assessing the impact of the first budget under the Dodge Plan, the Tokyo-published *Oriental Economist*, a conservative publication in no way associated with the *London Economist*, noted that the financial load on the people would rise from 21.6 percent of the national income in the preceding fiscal year, to 26.7 percent in the first year of the Dodge Plan. Because of the heavier taxes, a rise in import prices and in railway and postal rates, the *Oriental Economist* said, "The standard of popular living is destined to be lowered." To recompense for such gloomy prospects, the people were assured that the supply of industrial funds would now become smoother and that with the prospects for stabilization of the economy certain, exports and affiliated industries would recover, producing a rise in the standard of living "sooner or later."

By November, 1949, Dodge's austerity program had begun to bite deeply. In an open letter to Dodge published by the *Oriental Economist's* editors, they reviewed what they considered the favorable aspects of his program: prices had been stabilized, "rationalization" of industry was being accomplished, "over-employment" eliminated and efficiency in plant operation improved. However, the so-called "positive therapy" of the Dodge program, the promotion of Japan's export trade, had been seriously impeded by the recession in the United States and, particularly, by the devaluation of the British pound sterling. Dodge should certainly have been aware of the probable consequences of these factors, many economists agree, when he established the program.

In their open letter to Dodge, dated November 5, 1949, the editors of the *Oriental Economist* also stated:

Today Japan's industry is no longer merely struggling against the difficulties of tight money: it is facing the frightening prospect of no work to do. If things are left as they are, enterprises will be forced to fold up completely. Our economy, therefore, has been forced into a severe disinflationary depression and is undergoing unrelieved shrinkage. If it should be stabilized at such a point, we believe that it is improbable that rehabilitation could ever be accomplished.

The price rise had been momentarily halted in 1949. By January, 1951, however, the *Oriental Economist* noted, that prices were again on the rise. The editors attributed this to the Dodge Plan which had called for "adjustments necessitated by the fixed exchange rate and reduction or termination of price subsidies." On July 14, 1951, the publication painted this dire picture:

The budget has been "super-balanced" and currency is withdrawn from circulation without a corresponding release of funds. . . . On the other hand, the most stringent curbs are in effect on private financing. . . . The measures for fostering the accumulation of private industrial capital are entirely inadequate: taxation is both heavy and severe. . . . In consequence industry is suffering unbelievably from tight money, and must waste considerable effort and money to continue operation at a reasonable level.

The tight money, restrictive policies of Dodge had another consequence. On September 24, 1951, the London *Financial Times* reported:

Four Japanese trading companies, once part of the Mitsubishi combine, today announced they would re-amalgamate soon. Mitsubishi and other financial empires were broken by General MacArthur's "anti-trust" department early in the occupation. Allied policy held them responsible for aiding Japanese aggression. . . . Japanese financial circles state that many such "remnant" companies, finding their limited capital and resources disadvantageous, are considering reforming into their original larger groups.

The same journal, February 18, 1952, carried additional comment some authorities forecast, it reported, that Mitsui and Mitsubishi, which were broken up into more than 100 units apiece will be represented by three and five amalgamations, respectively, within a year.

The *Oriental Economist*, in commenting on Dodge's policies which led to such concentration, made this observation for the future: "In other words, only the well-established, sound and trustworthy businesses are likely to remain." This may not have proved as disadvantageous to American investors in Japanese industry who accounted for 91 percent of the postwar total of foreign investments. Investments in these "well-established, sound and trustworthy businesses" is proving a most profitable venture for these Americans.

The London *Economist* which had carefully followed the proposal, initation, progress and consequences of the Dodge Plan, made this observation on April 5, 1952:

There is also gathering criticism of the economic policy of Mr. Joseph Dodge, the American banker, who killed all government subsidies, revised taxation and imposed a program of rigorous financial austerity which is now being branded as unnecessary and deflationary.

This is Eisenhower's man Dodge who may conceivably be the choice to chart America's economic future.

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SOCIAL REVOLUTION OR HOUSE CLEANING?

by Gus Tyler

BUT IT did happen. In five straight elections, the American people chose a liberal President; in the sixth the fairest liberal of them all was buried under a landslide.

Why did it happen? Any explanation limiting itself to the last four months of the campaign or to the last four years of Democratic rule would conclude that the American people chose the Old Deal over the New Deal; Ike over Adlai; and a "bromo-seltzer ad over an essay by Emerson." But a longer view indicates that Stevenson's defeat was neither sudden nor decisive; that its causes may be found in the years from 1936 to 1952 and not solely in the last four years or months; and that its results are best forecast by the long sweep of American political history.

In 1936, Roosevelt polled some 63 percent of the popular vote; in 1940, 55 percent; in 1944, 54 percent, and in 1948 Truman polled about 49 percent. In 1952, Stevenson polled 45 percent of the popular vote.

The implication is obvious. The greased slide on which the Democratic Party Presidential candidate has been sitting since 1936 is tilted downward by Father Time. In a two-party democracy, the political pendulum swings from party to party. Events and crises and personalities may speed or retard the pendulum; they will not stop it. Supporters of the party in power grow fewer because the great reforms that originally won their ardor come to be taken for granted; opponents of the party in power grow more numerous because—with time—grievances, small, large and self-contradictory, accumulate. With time, Joseph dies and there matures a generation which knew not Joseph.

Grievances pile up. Some are aggrieved that we ever went into Korea; others that we did not march through Korea into the Kremlin. Both want a change—albeit for opposite reasons. Some want greater sums spent on flood control; others—sometimes the same—want lower taxes. Some want a lower cost of living; others want higher farm prices. This accumulation of grievances registers on the graph as a downward Democratic line, and the voiceless graph is expressed by the voter who says, "Time for a change."

Nor is an industrial recession necessary to set the pendulum in motion. Republicans lost in popular votes *before* the depression of 1932; they lost in popular votes *before* 1908, after which the depression guaranteed Democratic gains; they lost in popular votes in 1880, *prior* to the recession which helped elect Cleveland in 1884. The pendulum swings—with or without depression. In the past, however, depression always struck before time ran out on the party in power. This time they checked the depression; they could not check time.

It must be remembered that the 20-year Democratic era, 1932 to 1952, is the longest single unbroken period since the Civil War in which one party got a plurality of popular votes in successive Presidential contests. The original post-civil war GOP era ran to 1884, 24 years after Lincoln's election in 1860; but it included a Democratic popular majority in 1876. The second long Republican run was from 1896 to 1912, 16 years. The third was from 1920 to 1932, 12 years.

Although 1952 is no depression year, to many voters it is a year of "hidden depression" and Stevenson didn't have the agitational advantage that Truman enjoyed in 1948. HST could damn the Republican-run 80th Congress; Stevenson couldn't damn the Democratic-run 82nd Congress. To claim the last Congress was out of step with the White House was as esoteric as it was true.

Cost of living contributed to the Democratic decline. So did Communism. To voters with origins in Eastern Europe, Communist enslavement of the old home was a crime committed in conspiracy with someone in Washington. Discovery of some Communists who had infiltrated high government posts strengthened the impression that Washington was inept or worse in dealing with the Red menace. The deaths in Korea gave the mood of distrust a dramatic and fatal poignancy.

Still another point in the downward graph is corruption. The tale of two cities—New York and Philadelphia—gives evidence and a moral. In New York City this year, Stevenson ran only a few hundred votes ahead of Eisenhower—if one counts only the vote on the Democratic Party line. Stevenson's 370,000 edge was provided by the anti-corruption Liberal Party. As a background, remember that O'Dwyer comes from New York. The shadow he casts across City Hall lost the municipal election for the Democrats in 1950 and in 1951; his elongated shadow from the loftier heights of Mexico throws itself across the White House lawn. And for the benefit of New Yorkers who might have thought New York bosses had changed, the latter nominated one of their crew for US Senate to show things were just as they had always been in the New York Democratic back room.

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In Philadelphia, on the other hand, the Democratic candidate rolled up a majority of some 160,000 votes, largest in the city's history. Background for this is 60 years of corrupt *Republican* rule. Here "reformers" were Democrats, and Stevenson reversed the national trend.

So, in 1952, as from 1936 to 1952, the line on the graph ran against Stevenson. And so did Ike. Here was Mr. Change: no politico, he; an honest face; slayer of the dragon boss at a well-publicized convention; vague enough to absorb all the contradictory grievances confident enough to sound as if he were going someplace surely. The perfect candidate.

Eisenhower ran far ahead of his ticket. He got 55 percent of the popular vote, but his party barely achieved a majority in Congress. Present estimates give the GOP 221 seats in a House where 218 is the majority. When FDR got a similar percentage in 1940, his party won 267 seats; and in 1944, when FDR got 54 percent, his party won 243 seats.

Eisenhower's personal popularity is even more strikingly evidenced by the Senatorial contrast. In all but three states—Kentucky, Vermont and Minnesota—Ike ran well ahead of GOP Senatorial candidates. Here is a table of some typical contests, contrasting Eisenhower's percentage against the Senatorial candidates percentages of the vote cast for the office:

Massachusetts	Eisenhower 54.4	Lodge 48.5
Rhode Island	Eisenhower 50.8	Ewing 45.2
Indiana	Eisenhower 58	Jenner 52.8
Wisconsin	Eisenhower 61	McCarthy 54.6
Nevada	Eisenhower 61.4	Malone 51.6

Although Eisenhower carried Missouri, Montana and Washington, the GOP incumbents Kem, Ecton and Cain were defeated. In close contests, such as Indiana and Nevada, it is doubtful if Jenner and Malone would have survived without Eisenhower's help. The huge seven point gap between Eisenhower and McCarthy would have been greater if the General had spoken out against McCarthy.

While the voters turned to Eisenhower as a handy way to slap the Democratic Party, it is clear from Congressional results that the same voters were reluctant to turn over the whole country to the GOP. It should be noted, in this connection, that the Eisenhower landslide—despite all the favorable circumstances—was no record breaker. His percentage of the popular vote was less than that of Grant in his second term, or Roosevelt in 1904, or Harding in 1920, Coolidge in 1924, and—if you please—Hoover in 1928.

The narrow GOP margin in both Houses raises a real question about Congress party control in 1954. If the traditional oscillations of the political graph continue, the party in power will lose Congressional seats in the mid-term elections. Here is a table of mid-term losses by the party in the White House, beginning with 1914, when House membership was stabilized at 435:

SEATS LOST BY PARTY IN POWER

1914	Democrats	59 seats
1918	Democrats	19 seats
1922	Republicans	75 seats
1926	Republicans	10 seats
1930	Republicans	47 seats
1934	Democrats	9 *seats won*
1938	Democrats	71 seats
1942	Democrats	45 seats
1946	Democrats	55 seats
1950	Democrats	27 seats

The mid-term election usually costs the party in power eight percent of its Congressional seats.

Loss of Congress by the Republicans in 1954 would not necessarily mean defeat in 1956. The mid-term loss is normal and does not indicate how the party will do in the Presidential year. The real test of permanence will be the ability of the new administration to create a program that is the equivalent of the Lincoln Revolution of the 1860s or the Roosevelt Revolution of the 1930s. In short, is there an Eisenhower Era of such social significance as to give the GOP a grip on the country such as Lincoln gave to his party and FDR gave to his?

The Lincoln revolution set in motion social forces that made America almost inevitably Republican: he saved the Union, liberated the Negro, gave land to the farmer and encouraged industrial expansion. The Republican Party was rewarded with 72 years of rule: 1860 to 1932. The rule was broken by Cleveland: first in 1884 and then in 1892. But Cleveland marked no new era; he was just a transient "change." GOP rule was broken briefly again by Wilson (1912 to 1920). But not until 1932 did we enter a new era.

The Roosevelt revolution changed the face and mind of America. For 20 years, the voters returned Democrats to the White House. Like Lincoln, Roosevelt set loose forces that made almost inevitable repeated Democratic victories.

Now what is Eisenhower? Is he a Republican "Cleveland," a new broom to clean up an era that has been and will continue to be basically New Deal and Democratic? Or is he a Republican "Roosevelt" with a new program for a new era?

In short, is Eisenhower a new face or is he a new phase in American history? So far, he seems far more the former than the latter.

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THE SENATE—NO CHANGE THIS TIME

THE NATION's press, which has pointed to Republican control of Congress as proof that the voters thought it "time for a change," should take another look at the new Senate. The fact is that while the voters evidently liked Ike, they were not completely sold on a reactionary bill of goods. The over-all complexion of the Senate has changed little.

Eisenhower helped Republican dinosaurs like McCarthy (Wis.), Jenner (Ind.), Malone (Nev.) and Bricker (Ohio) keep their Senate seats. But liberal Democrats Chavez (N. Mex.), Pastore (R.I.) and Kilgore (W. Va.) won despite home-state landslides for the General. While Eisenhower figured in the defeat of liberal Senators Benton (Conn.), Moody (Mich.) and O'Mahoney (Wyo.), his popularity could not be used to bring back such dangerous Republicans as Kem (Mo.), Ecton (Mont.) and Cain (Wash.)

The outgoing Democratic Senate, controlled by a coalition of conservative Republicans and Dixiecrats, was not liberal. Neither is the new Senate, but the change is only a matter of degree. We have used the following index to show the relative effects of the election on the over-all liberal conservative line-up in the Senate. The index of change uses a base of 0—no change; 1—slight change; 2—significant change; 3—effective change; and 4—great change. A plus sign indicates change favoring liberals, in the opinion of the NR, measured by positions on major issues, and a minus sign shows change unfavorable to liberals. The net change for the entire Senate is −3, equal actually to the loss of one liberal Senator to a conservative.

Here is a breakdown of the changes in the Senate:

Arizona: Ernest McFarland, who was defeated in his first election after taking over as Majority Leader of the Senate, favored weakening price controls, voted for the monopolistic basing-point bill, and for tax loopholes. His victorious opponent, department-store operator Barry Goldwater, is probably more conservative but he is said to be civic-minded, and able, with a good background in Indian affairs. McFarland's support of foreign aid, aid for education and some other liberal measures makes this change somewhat of a loss (—1).

Connecticut: The defeat of Democrat William Benton is a heavy loss. His courageous fight against McCarthyism, his able grasp of issues and his leadership in bringing about a better Voice of America earned him a reputation as one of our best Senators. His successor, Republican William Purtell, former head of the Connecticut Association of Manufacturers, gives promise of being highly conservative but not isolationist (—4).

The death of Sen. Brien McMahon and the failure of Rep. Abraham Ribicoff to win his Democratic seat was another loss to liberals. Like Purtell the new Senator, Prescott Busch, will probably be a non-isolationist conservative (—4).

Kentucky: Sen. Thomas Underwood, the Democratic incumbent appointed to fill the vacancy left by the death of Virgil Chapman until this year's special election, favored such important issues as the McCarran Act veto, rent control and foreign aid, but voted with the Dixiecrats on such key issues as off-shore oil, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, tax loopholes and price-control measures. His successor, former Republican Sen. John Sherman Cooper, has supported federal housing and aid-to-education measures, and is generally regarded as a competent public servant. Liberals suffered virtually no loss here (0).

Maine: Former GOP Gov. Frederick G. Payne, said to be Margaret Chase Smith's kind of Republican, should be a real improvement over his primary opponent, Owen Brewster who supported special privilege in taxation, price control and such matters as subsidies to the big airlines (+2).

Maryland: In place of a generally conservative Democratic Senator, Herbert O'Conor, the Senate receives a conservative Republican, Glen Beall. O'Conor was wrong on labor legislation, off-shore oil, rent control, the McCarran bill, and the St. Lawrence Seaway—a record similar to that his successor made in the House (—1).

Massachusetts: The effect of Democratic John Kennedy's succession to the seat of Republican Henry Cabot Lodge is much disputed. Lodge ranked high in ability but was led by party loyalty to cast votes against the public interest on low prices and taxes. Kennedy has had an outstanding progressive voting record in the House (+2).

Michigan: The defeat of Democratic Sen. Blair Moody by Republican Rep. Charles Potter is a heavy blow. Moody was outstanding in his perfect score on liberal issues; Potter has a consistently reactionary record in the House (—4).

Missouri: An experienced and progressive Democrat, Stuart Symington, replaces one of the Senate's worst Republican isolationists, James P. Kem (+4).

Montana: Democratic Rep. Mike Mansfield, an outstanding liberal, replaces another Republican isolationist and representative of Montana's big-business interests, Zales Ecton (+4).

Nebraska: Dwight Griswold replaces Fred Seaton, a moderate Republican; a slightly negative change (—1).

Tennessee: Rep. Albert Gore, who defeated Sen. Kenneth McKellar, represents a significant improvement (+2).

Texas: Tom Connally was nearly always right on foreign affairs and wrong on domestic policy. Eisenhower's Dixiecrat supporter, Price Daniel, promises a record much worse (—2).

Washington: GOP Sen. Harry Cain, crusader for the real-estate and private-power lobbies, was defeated by a thorough liberal, Henry "Scoop" Jackson (+4).

Wyoming: Veteran Democrat Joseph O'Mahoney will be replaced by GOP Gov. Frank Barrett, a supporter of special privilege for Wyoming stockmen (—4).

A further change will take place when Gov. Earl Warren appoints a new Senator to take Richard Nixon's seat—no doubt an improvement. Here, in table form, is the net result:

STATE	SEAT AT STAKE	WINNER	INDEX OF CHANGE
Arizona	McFarland (D)	Goldwater (R)	—1
Connecticut	Benton (D)	Purtell (R)	—4
	Ribicoff (D) (McMahon's seat)	Bush (R)	—4
Kentucky	Underwood (D)	Cooper (R)	0
Maine	Brewster (R)	Payne (R)	+2
Maryland	Mahoney (D) (O'Conor's seat)	Beall (R)	—1
Massachusetts	Lodge (R)	Kennedy (D)	+2
Michigan	Moody (D)	Potter (R)	—4
Missouri	Kem (R)	Symington (D)	+4
Montana	Ecton (R)	Mansfield (D)	+4
Nebraska	Seaton (R) (Did not run)	Griswold (R)	—1
Tennessee	McKellar (D)	Gore (D)	+2
Texas	Connally (D)	Daniel (D & R)	—2
Washington	Cain (R)	Jackson (D)	+4
Wyoming	O'Mahoney (D)	Barrett (R)	—4
	Total Changes	+18	—21
	Net Changes for Entire Senate		— 3

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THE BIG SLICKS IN POLITICS

by Peter Gay

THE *Life* issue of October 27 carried this letter: "I know you boys are trying to sell Ike to the voters of America, which is well and good; but what kind of 'fair coverage' ratio do you call this week's maneuver to six and two-third pages Ike and Nixon and one-third page Stevenson!" *Life's* editors thought it necessary to refute this intimation of bias. "*Life's* editorials," ran the judicious reply, in part, "which by definition are an expression of opinion, do support the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket. In its factual reporting, however, *Life* hopes to achieve interesting and complete coverage of the campaign and has no intention of achieving this with an artificial mathematical balance of pages. The biggest political news of the week in question—both to Republicans and Democrats—was the Nixon story."

Clearly, *Life's* editors have a point: significant news deserves greater coverage than routine events, and bias cannot be measured alone by the allocation of space. The manner of presenting the news is, of course, of far greater import. Nevertheless, when a little-known candidate runs against the most popular American of our time, one essential element in the electoral success of the unknown is that he be given extensive coverage by the mass media of communication. The amount of space allotted to Stevenson and Eisenhower in our leading magazines during this campaign cannot, therefore, be ignored. This brief analysis will rely on five periodicals—the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *Reader's Digest*, *Life* and *Time*—which have a combined circulation of more than 25 million copies.

The *Saturday Evening Post*, which does not pretend to be a completely impartial news magazine and is in a different category from say *Time*, editorially supported General Eisenhower. This attitude seeped into the selection of articles. Starting with its issue of September 6, and ending with its issue of October 25, the *Saturday Evening Post* ran 12 articles directly concerned with the campaign. Of these eight were distinctly pro-Republican, two favored the Democrats and two may be described as neutral.

We may divide the first category into "effusions" and "pseudo-analyses." The effusions included an adoring article about Eisenhower as a campaigner—"Here's what's behind Ike's grin," and an "as-told-to" piece by Pat Nixon about her husband: "I Say He's a Wonderful Guy." The blurb described this effort in part: "Sen. Dick Nixon's young wife tells her own intimate story of what it's like to be married to a crusader. . . ." To judge from this piece Crusader Dick's only enemies are "left-wingers" or "Communists."

But the greatest of these effusions was a piece by Norman Rockwell accompanying a cover painting of the General—"The Day I Painted Ike." Rockwell glowingly describes how Eisenhower posed for the portrait and includes in his article a series of sketches showing the General in various moods answering Rockwell's questions. There is one serious drawing with the following caption: "The campaign? Instantly, he was deeply serious. No punch-pulling for him! He'd rather lose the election than not tell the people just what he thinks." Overwhelmed, Rockwell concludes with these words: "This may sound corny, but in the man-to-man sense I mean it right up to the hilt—I'm an Eisenhower worshiper."

The *Saturday Evening Post* carried three pseudo-analyses, ranging from a rather sober appraisal ("What the GOP Must Do To Win," by the Alsop brothers) to a fervid piece by an Ohio manufacturer and public-relations man—"How Ike Can Swing A Big Labor Vote!" The two pro-Democratic articles, "I Watched Stevenson Campaign," and "The Case For The Democrats," were coupled with "I Watched Eisenhower Campaign," and "The Case For The Republicans." With *Post* editorials cheering from the sidelines ("Adlai may find ADA albatross hard to handle," "Stevenson's nose for the comrades is none too keen,") no word count is needed to know to whom the *Post's* heart belonged.

Collier's was relatively quiescent during the campaign. It carried a piece on Mamie Eisenhower and one on Governor Stevenson's sister, Mrs. Ives. While such relative neutrality may seem unexceptionable, it must be observed that this blanket of silence could only help General Eisenhower, who after his rise to fame under two Democratic Presidents was known to all and liked by many. The Governor needed to put his record, qualifications and personality before as wide a public as possible.

In September, the *Reader's Digest* began creating election atmosphere with a piece entitled "What Really Corrupts Washington: Secrecy," and explaining that a "paper curtain lowered over the activity of the executive departments of government" insured and protected corruption. The October issue followed with a reprint of Pat Nixon's accolade to her husband. And the climax was reached in the November issue: five and one-half pages of Richard Nixon's answers to questions on "The Mean-

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This is the second of three articles on campaign coverage. An analysis of the daily press appeared last week; the next issue will contain a study of radio and TV in the election.

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ing of the Hiss Case." This final pre-election issue also contained an article on "The Phantom Dam of Roanoke Rapids" concerning the "Administration's dream to nationalize power. . . ." and to see to it that "nobody but the federal government will ever again build a power plant on any important stream in the United States," and an article on "The Price of Price Controls."

The space allocation of the Luce publications was far more subtle. Many of *Life's* pictorial essays consisted of evenly matched series of pictures. But time and again Eisenhower would have the edge: *Life* printed two articles by well-known figures—Robert Moses and Douglas Southall Freeman—who favored the General. Lifemen must have known of the large number of outstanding Americans who had switched to Governor Stevenson, and that an article by one of them would have fitted their claim to "achieve interesting and complete coverage of the campaign." Again, in articles ostensibly devoted to both candidates, Eisenhower almost invariably captured more space. An article on "The Advance Men" gave the Republicans five pages to one for the Democrats. The only political personality featured on a cover during the campaign (accompanied by an ecstatic story) was Mrs. Eisenhower.

Time, a journal of opinion masquerading as a news magazine, showed the same tendencies as its sister-publication. Classification is difficult, but one issue—that of September 22—is typical: three columns on the McCarthy primary victory, four and one-half columns on the Taft-Eisenhower meeting and Eisenhower's campaign speeches, and one and one-quarter columns on Freeman's article in *Life*—total: eight and three-quarter columns. In the same issue, the Democrats got three and three-quarter columns, chiefly on Stevenson's speeches. (Nearly all the Republican space was favorable; a good part of the Democratic space was criticism of Stevenson's foreign-policy views.) The September 15 issue contained a cluster of six political cartoons, of which one was neutral, one half-heartedly pro-Stevenson and four definitely pro-Eisenhower. The two close-ups of minor figures which *Time* featured were a highly unfavorable article on Democratic Governor Williams and a highly favorable article on Republican Senator Williams.

A mathematical analysis shows, then, a rather persistent bias in favor of the Republicans, but the really significant distortions of the professedly neutral magazines do not emerge from an analysis of space allocation. We must go to the treatment of the news itself.

Space is not available for a really detailed study of built-in bias, but two examples will serve: *Time's* handling of campaign news, and the Luce publications' treatment of McCarthyism. *Time's* news approach followed a regular pattern: reporting a speech by General Eisenhower consisted of four ingredients—quotations, a summary of points not quoted, favorable remarks on audience reactions and general praise. Thus, its front-page story on "Republicans" in the issue of September 1 began "A great American soldier disclosed political greatness this week." Again, this is how *Time* summarized Eisenhower's *and Stevenson's* farm speeches at Kasson: "The day's performance marked another milestone in the campaign. Dwight Eisenhower had shown that he can deal clearly, specifically and forcefully with the intricate details of a purely domestic, non-military issue."

Criticism of Republicans was soft-pedaled. A long and favorable account of Nixon's famous ordeal by TV said nothing of the omissions and contradictions in Crusader Dick's financial accounting, and concluded, "His fund was probably a mistake in political judgment (as was Stevenson's) but by the time Nixon had finished speaking, the snowballing charges against him had melted down to a tactical error—and no more." Both *Time* and *Life* converted the Nixon story into an asset, pointing out that Eisenhower's handling of the Nixon affair spotlighted "Ike's ability to make successful decisions." [The justification for using *Life* editorials as source material for the slanting of news is that these editorials are generally reflected in the news columns of *Time*. *Time's* praise of Eisenhower quoted above appeared in its October 6 issue. *Life* of the same date carried an editorial on "Ike's Command Decision," repeating *Time's* praise almost word for word.]

On the other hand, *Time* and *Life* covered the Democrats as if the editors were a GOP Truth Squad. While the Taft-Eisenhower meeting at Morningside Heights or the McCarthy-Eisenhower meeting in Wisconsin received no adverse comment, Stevenson's views were frequently subjected to sharp criticisms. Quotations from President Truman's speeches were invariably accompanied by "facts'" refuting the President's "mudslinging." Thus, *Life* said on October 13:

> He [Truman] said Ike had done "a great deal of harm" by thinking we could be friendly with Russia in '45—the year Truman himself thought so at Potsdam. He warned water-power conscious Montanans that under GOP they might never see another Hungry Horse project—but gave Republicans no credit for Hoover dam.

Or, in a relatively favorable article on Governor Stevenson, *Time* took swipes at some of his associates, describing Arthur Schlesinger Jr. as "historian, Harvard Professor, one-time vice-president of the ADA, and apologist for Dean Acheson," and James Wechsler as "editor of the far-to-the-left New York *Post*."

This was of a piece with a stunt pulled by *Life* in its October 20 issue containing a series of excerpts drawn

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from President Truman's campaign speeches, paired with replies by Sen. Robert A. Taft written especially for *Life*. The presentation was given the appearance of a debate.

But the most remarkable feat perpetrated by the Luce machine was its handling of McCarthy. One does not need to be a radical to see in McCarthy's use of the Big Lie a grave danger to our free institutions. But *Time*, Inc., seeing in Eisenhower's association with McCarthy a possible source of embarrassment for their candidate, sought to immunize their readers against nausea at the spectacle of Crusader Ike shaking hands with Joe McCarthy. *Time* and *Life* approached their formidable task in four ways: they associated other campaigners, particularly President Truman, with McCarthy's methods; they minimized the virulence of the evil of McCarthyism by tying it to the Administration's "softness toward Communism"; they steadfastly refused to criticize Eisenhower for his endorsement of the Wisconsin Senator and let it be known that the General found McCarthy distasteful; they turned aside criticism of Eisenhower on this score by diverting the American public with talk about something else.

The first of these techniques was made evident as early as September 1, when *Time* wrote, rather tentatively: "In a way, Harry Truman is as embarrassing a campaign problem for the Democrats as Joe McCarthy is for the Republicans." On October 13, *Time* headed a front-page story on the President's campaign speeches "The Other McCarthy," and wrote blandly that his speeches "had the power of oversimplified clarity, like Joe McCarthy's attacks on the Truman Administration. Truman reaches a lot of people that Stevenson does not, just as McCarthy reaches a lot of people that Eisenhower does not." But the prize must be awarded to *Time's* ineffable comments on Senator McCarthy's remarkable Chicago television speech:

> A standard McCarthy effort, no more and no less . . . McCarthy displayed his usual tendency to imply conclusions more sweeping than his facts warranted. . . . Partisans of either side could balance it off against some of Harry Truman's recent efforts.

The second approach was displayed in two *Life* editorials on September 8. The Lifeline was that McCarthyism "was conceived in politics by politicians for political purposes" and was a reaction against Truman's softness toward Communism (a favorite Luce theme). *Life* admitted that we must oppose McCarthyism, but described it as only a "venial sin," typical of American campaign oratory from William Jennings Bryan to Henry Wallace, and different in kind from Communism, "the mortal sin." The obvious truth that McCarthyism and Communism are twin mortal sins seem to have no place in the Lucempire.

Thirdly, *Life* and *Time* covered Eisenhower's Midwestern trip without criticism. *Time* had indicated on September 1 that "Joe could look for little real help from the Republican Presidential candidate." And on October 13, *Time* further explained that McCarthy is a "man whom Ike does not admire, but whom he recognizes as the symbol of a deep sense of uneasiness among US voters."

The last technique was best exemplified by a remarkable *Life* editorial on October 20 taking the President's charge of "moral blindness" against Eisenhower as its text, without mentioning the reason for Truman's criticism—the General's embrace of McCarthy and Jenner—and turning it against the Democrats. The editorial simply called the Democrats unfit to judge issues of morality. The old debater's trick, "If you can't answer a truthful attack, assassinate the character of the man making it," has never been employed to greater advantage. The editorial talked of "hoodlum politics," citing Chicago as "at present the most nauseous center of gutter politics." It concluded: "If Stevenson is elected, the cultural elite of New York, Hollywood and the campuses may take some of the credit. But Stevenson will owe much, much more to the vice-and-racket machines that turn out the marginal votes in the three strategic states of New York, Missouri and Illinois." In all this dust, Eisenhower's endorsement of McCarthy had disappeared from view.

Such examples could easily be multiplied. The Luce treatment of the Korean War deserves an article by itself. *Time* and *Life* fully reported and endorsed Eisenhower's views on Korea, and *Time* in its November 3 issue backed up his position with a special two-column article on "the record on which his Detroit speech was based." The fact that the coincidence of *Time*, Inc. views with Eisenhower's was not fortuitous (according to James Reston of the New York *Times*, the powerful "I shall go to Korea" idea was dreamed up by Emmet Hughes, a *Life* editor) was not found worthy of mention in either *Life* or *Time*.

Charles F. McCahill, President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, has summarized the story. In a speech on November 8, according to the New York *Times*, McCahill said:

> When the merchandise is good the press can sell it. I think the newspapers exerted great influence in this election. They had a great product to sell, they presented it factually and forcefully to the American people, and the people accepted it.

It remains to be seen if this merchandise was properly labelled.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE POET IN DOCK

by Herbert Read

OPENING this book for the first time, my eye caught a sentence at the top of page 123 which immediately raised my critical hackles, "the greatest poet in English since the seventeenth century," I read; and looking back to the beginning of the sentence I found the name of Yeats. Greater than Pope, Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Keats, Blake, Browning, that would seem to mean. It is not an impossible opinion to hold, but it became my main interest, in reading the volume from beginning to end, to find out by what criterion the critic arrived at such a surprising judgment.

LANGUAGE AS GESTURE, by R. P. Blackmur (Harcourt, Brace; $5.75).

A judgment it is. Mr. Blackmur begins by drawing a distinction between his own activity and that of a colleague like Mr. Kenneth Burke:

> The difference between Mr. Burke and myself is that where he is predominantly concerned with setting up methods for analyzing the actions as they are expressed in the symbol, I choose to emphasize the created or dead-end symbol. He explores the puzzle of the language in the process of becoming symbolic. I try to show in a series of varied and progressive examples how the symbol invests the actions in language with poetic actuality. Mr. Burke legislates; I would judge; the executive is between us.

First we must try to understand the significance of the unaccomodating title which Mr. Blackmur has given to this collection of twenty-one pieces, representing his principal writings on the subject of poetry, and adding up to a "poetics" as impressive as any of our time. Gesture, we are told in an introductory essay, "is the outward and dramatic play of inward and imagined meaning."

> It is that play of meaningfulness among words which cannot be defined in the formulas in the dictionary, but which is defined in their use together; gesture is that meaningfulness which is moving, in every sense of that word: what moves the words and what moves us.

In that definition it is the word "play" that is the most significant, for it is soon evident that Mr. Blackmur is in the proper sense of the word a rhetorician. He believes that words are given to us to enable us to create symbols, and a symbol is "what we use to express meaningfulness in a permanent way which cannot be expressed in direct words or formulas of words with any completeness; a symbol is a cumulus of meaning which, once established, attracts further meanings to it until, overloaded, it collapses." The making of symbols is further described as "a steady occupation," and symbols are pictured as rather jolly objects to be "shared and transmitted by those who have life in common, by lovers, friends, and that version of society which we think of as a fellowship." When words fail the poet, these toys can be tossed about to "carry the load, lighten the load, and leap beyond the load of meaning." That is where the gesture comes in, and it is largely expressed by such "formal agents as plot and meter and refrain."

At this point Yeats is brought in to illustrate the point. "I am of Ireland" is quoted as a poem which, "using symbol and making symbol, *playing upon its words as it runs*" (my italics), *"escapes* all the mere meaning in words and reaches the pure meaningfulness of gesture."

Neglecting, in spite of their intrinsic interest, essays on Thomas Hardy and Emily Dickinson, we come to two essays on Yeats himself. We learn, to begin with, that Yeats's chief weapon for grasping the "reality of emotion, character and aspiration" is *magic*. But this magic is logical and represents, for Yeats, a full use of intelligence. It performs for Yeats "the same fructifying function that Christianity does for Eliot"; and so we meet once more the perennial bloom of modern criticism—the supposed necessity of a system of belief, a faith. "Poetry does not flow from thin air but requires always either a literal faith, an imaginative faith, or, as in Shakespeare, a mind full of many provisional faiths." What a dogmatic believer like Mr. Eliot would make of a mind full of many provisional faiths, we cannot imagine; how does such a mind differ from a mind full of many provisional heresies, which is, in any case, a more exact description of Shakespeare's mind? Yeats's faith, presumably, was imaginative—an affair of spooks and gyres, of Great Years and Second Comings, that deserves no intellectual respect whatsoever. Even Mr. Blackmur must admit that "it has no available edifice of reason reared upon it conventionally independent of its inspiration." And there follow many limitations and qualifications which we have no space to recount, but which surely hang rather heavily round "the greatest poet in English since the seventeenth century"—indeed, "the conclusion cannot be avoided that this lack (of a rational superstructure) prevents his poetry from reaching the first magnitude." What about the same lack in Shakespeare? Are we left with Dante and Mr. Eliot as the only stars of first magnitude?

Art, said Yeats in a line quoted by Mr. Blackmur, "is but a vision of reality." It is not strictly necessary to say much more by way of defining art, but again with Yeats (again quoted by Mr. Blackmur) we may observe that "it is only when the intellect has wrought the whole of life to drama, to crisis, that we may live for contemplation, and yet keep our intensity." Crisis, drama, intensity—these are the terms of a valid poetics; the rest—meter, cadence, rhyme, refrain, etc.,—are the rhetorician's trimmings. The poet uses them when they can be given an expressive function, much as an architect uses the conventional orders (but the modern architect rejects such clichés, and so do some modern poets). At times Mr. Blackmur seems to argue to the same effect. "Art

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declares its whatness, its self, with such a concreteness that you can only approach it by bringing abstractions to bear, abstractions from all the concrete or actual experience you can manage to focus." That is finely said, but where is the play in such a situation, where the make-believe? Poetry, as D. H. Lawrence (a poet inadequately appreciated by Mr. Blackmur) used to insist, "does not want to get anywhere. It just takes place." That is its element of crisis, of drama, of intensity. That is what is, all pretense, all make-believe apart, in the poetry of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, poets to whom Mr. Blackmur devotes four of his best essays. I do not think he does justice to what is the most distinctive element in their verse—its imagery. But he is not satisfied with the beauty of the poetry, the purity of the sensibility; he is always craving sadistically for some "intellectual discipline," some formalistic aesthetic. It is perhaps obvious why. Beauty is absolute, and can only be perceived directly, and felt intensely. Mr. Blackmur "would judge", and the judge always requires a code. The poet commits the crimes.

HECATE REVISITED

THE LOVED AND THE UNLOVED, by François Mauriac (Pellegrini and Cudahy; $3).

THE ILLUSIONIST, by Françoise Mallet (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3).

IN WHAT might be called some Hecate Department of France lie the small towns of Gers and Dorthe. They are not far from each other and share a climate of dismal oppressiveness. Gers has a little the edge in size and pretends to a society of sorts, while Dorthe has entombed even that in the artificial darkness of rooms shuttered against the heat. Two French novelists, one very young, the other old and practiced in his art and regarded as rather a master in it, have written new novels drenched in the evil that lies beneath the surface of these towns.

The Illusionist, a story of life in Gers, expertly executed by a *jeune fille* of twenty, concerns an affair between a *jeune fille* of fifteen and her father's mistress. There is talent at work in the book, but the author has mistaken audacity for emotional realism, and relies too heavily upon it. Hélène, the lonely and pliant young girl seduced is a credible enough figure, and credible enough too is the fact that she is enchanted by the seduction. Tamara, the enchantress, on the other hand, is so plainly the product of an adolescent and naïvely romantic imagination that she is in some of her aspects almost funny. She is a Russian, not long ago an entirely illiterate semi-savage, "exquisitely beautiful," picked up and married by an aged merchant who brought her from Russia to Paris. There she learned to read and write French perfectly in no time, lived exotically, and began, to her husband's amusement, to attract swarms of female admirers, for one of whom she left him. Now, some time and innumerable lovers later, she is still irresistible to both sexes. She is also a horsewoman who flies about the plains around Gers like a centauress. At home she drinks very strong tea and smokes incessantly, dipping alternately into Descartes and the Marquis de Sade, amid a splendid disorder of books and ashes. She is coldly cruel; she strides about in an odor of leather.

Tamara has two male lovers, a painter and Hélène's wealthy, widowed father. These two share her maintenance. Her erotic love she lavishes on the completely enslaved schoolgirl. Tamara is, however, thirty-five, and in the end this fact wins out and she marries, against the day when she can no longer attract a supporting cast. Her choice is the father of the corrupted victim to whom she seems to have bequeathed many of her qualities in somewhat disguised form. A kind of Sartre pit would seem to yawn before this happy household as the book ends.

Realism is on another plane in *The Loved and the Unloved*, which might itself be titled *The Illusionist*, by François Mauriac. Dorthe, an ugly little community petrifying in the sun somewhere near Bordeaux, is the scene in which several supernaturally ugly, and two handsome, people reach crucial points simultaneously, split apart and re-combine to the fulfillment of some need in each, whether of love or hatred. Only one is unshackled in the process and able to leave Dorthe freed of idolatry and self-delusion.

Mme. Agathe, the repulsive daughter of an impoverished aristocrat, is governess to Marie, lovely young daughter of M. and Mme. Dubernet, who are personages in the town but are nevertheless somewhat awed by their high-born employee. M. Dubernet is a gluttonous old man, whose private plans form slowly and in silence while he munches through innumerable prawns and joints of mutton and tarts. He leaves to his waspish, dying wife, "a thin woman, but her protuberant stomach gave her a look of royalty," all the concerns proper to arranging a suitably creditable and profitable marriage for Marie, or preventing any other.

Marie's choice, the son of a local doctor, is despised by her mother. Gilles is a ruthless young man, without the insight to know what he is suggesting when he asks his devoted friend, Nicolas Plassac, on whom Mme. Agathe has fixed her starved eye, to deceive the governess a while, long enough at least to gain her advocacy of his own case with Mme. Dubernet. Nicolas succumbs to his selfish idol's pleading—as well as to pity for Agathe, and to a native urge in him to self-immolation. The proposed deception is intolerable to him, though, so he determines to marry her in truth, trusting that the event can be postponed as long as possible by his mother's hoped-for opposition, his own poverty, or any other convenient obstacle.

He is not prepared for the will and resources of his eager lady, however. His mother's distaste for her is instantly dispelled by Agathe's offer of housekeepership at Belmonte, her family estate. When Nicolas objects that he is too poor to marry at once, she offers gladly to live with him forever on left-over noodles warmed on a gas-ring. The waters closing over his head, Nicolas makes the desperate effort necessary to save them from what he knows will be

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a dreadful life both for himself and Agathe. In an exchange that nearly kills them both, he undeceives her as to his feelings. Humiliated, hopeless and full of hatred for Nicolas, for M. Dubernet, and particularly for Marie, the beautiful and young and beloved, Agathe agrees, on the night of Mme. Dubernet's funeral, eventually to marry her master. He will thereby gain Belmonte, his heart's desire, and she will gain a position from which she can hope to torture Marie, that being the only desire left in her own heart. Nicolas is freed at last of his atrocious fiancee, but more significantly, of the romantic illusions he has cherished about himself, his friend Gilles, his home, and his awful mother. "The world I have described is the world as it appears to Nicolas when the scales fall from his eyes," writes Mauriac in a postscript to the novel. Nicolas, so released, can move toward God, as the author finally makes clear he is about to do.

What is offered as realism in *The Illusionist* is a kind of illusion of it, achieved by painstaking description of the erotic course of an unnatural love affair, by much talk of sex, by a macabre episode in a Lesbian dive, by a brutal beating. But there is no depth of emotional realization. The characters are not really understood by the author, not even that of Hélène, although she appears to have been based on the writer herself, if we are to judge by descriptions of her which closely tally Mlle. Mallet's large jacket photograph. Since their creator has not known enough about them to give them life, they simply do not have it.

Mauriac's view of evil is not that of Mlle. Mallet. It is hideous to him and all his writing carries his strong religious conviction as to its reality and meaning. But apart from what he makes of it all, he simply sees and understands more of people as they are. A part of his whole aim as a writer is defined in a statement about his work which he quotes from a perceptive critic: "To set against a literature determined by metaphysics, in which man girds at everything, one based on psychology, in which man girds only at himself." *The Loved and the Unloved* is among other things a study of the effects upon a human soul of physical ugliness.

The new book of his should invite a second look by the critics who regard him as in revolt against nature and think they discern in him a near-pathological hatred of feminine sexuality as *a priori* evil. That is not at all the case. The evil depicted is spiritual: hatred, illusion, snobbery, greed, materialism of the crassest sort. The maunderings of Nicolas' mother; the contemptuous pride, coupled with abject lust, and complicated by hatred, in Agathe; the "wisdom" of toad-like M. Dubernet in his dissertation on happiness: (" . . . is the knowledge that one is not dependent on others; . . . is the certainty that one occupies the leading position in the society one lives in.")—these have in them far more of realism, of the awful truth about human states of being, than any number of carefully shocking descriptions of a Lucy's Bar, or of the practices of a dashing lady of at most two dimensions. Mlle. Mallet keeps to the surface of human behavior and wickedness; M. Mauriac moves in darker, deeper waters.

S. M. FITZGERALD

MEDIATION'S FAILURE

TO JERUSALEM, by Count Folke Bernadotte (British Book Center; $4.50).

COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE, who was sent by the United Nations to "mediate" the struggle between the Jews and Arabs over creation of the State of Israel, was brutally murdered by Jewish extremists in September of 1948. It becomes difficult, therefore, to approach the story of his mission in any mood but the desire to lean over backward in his favor.

To Jerusalem can be understood only in terms of what seems like a fantastic past although it occurred only a few years ago. In November of 1947, the United Nations voted for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab States. The Jews accepted the UN resolution, despite their bitter disappointment at the partition. The Arabs refused and moved to attack.

Count Bernadotte decided that the appointment of a mediator in effect cancelled the resolution of November, 1947, and that his task was to find some new solution to the problem of Palestine that would satisfy both the Arabs and the Jews. This meant abandonment of a sovereign Jewish State and to all intents the triumph of the Arabs.

It was an utterly unrealistic approach that laid the Count open inevitably to the charge that he was seeking to sabotage the State of Israel and to recapture for the Arabs much of what they had lost on the battlefield. For once the Jews had been granted sovereignty by the United Nations, including control of immigration, it was clearly impossible to turn back the clock. In seeking to find a formula that might win Arab acceptance, Count Bernadotte produced proposals that could only mean abandonment of what thousands of Jews had fought and died for.

Bernadotte flew diligently and with great personal courage from Jewish to Arab camp without any apparent awareness that in Tel Aviv he was dealing

EDMUND WILSON's

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with a whole people, desperately determined to create at long last, a homeland for itself with complete control over its own destiny, and that in Cairo he was dealing with an Arab League that at best represented only a handful of mutually jealous petty rulers of backward States who had long since failed their own people and were now busy failing the world.

It would seem clear, on the basis of *To Jerusalem* that Count Bernadotte attempted honestly and genuinely to keep a fair balance between the Jews and the Arabs during the various truces that he supervised. Nor can his humanitarianism be open to question. He assured the provisioning of the Jews in Jerusalem and elsewhere and he sought help for the Arab refugees so cruelly deserted by their own people.

On the political plane, however, there is not the slightest evidence that Count Bernadotte was prepared, either by experience or training, to undertake the tremendous task assigned him.

ALEXANDER H. UHL

THE LONELY MAJORITY

FROM THE MODERN REPERTOIRE, edited by Eric Bentley (University of Denver; Series One, $5; Series Two, $6).

THERE HAS BEEN little flurry of late about the special and the general in literature, "coterie writing" as opposed to "universality." Perhaps the public is catching up with the coteries, owing to the tireless labors of the explicators; or perhaps sympathy for minorities is spreading from law to letters; or perhaps the split is still there beneath the surface, but ignored in conversation, like other unacknowledged but persistent pressures. At any rate, now is a good time to draw attention to a real distinction of this kind: that which exists between the minority writing of Broadway and Hollywood and the majority comprised of all other styles and periods of drama.

For, when you come to think of it, the conventions which are considered basic to the success of a "typical" play or movie are typical only of restriction, artifice, remoteness from real life—everything, in fact (except, of course, obscurity), with which the avant-garde was being so widely twitted ten years ago. Turn from the latest commercial success, even of a "superior" playwright like Tennessee Williams, to any of the plays in Mr. Bentley's anthology.

The times and places in which Mr. Bentley enables us to watch the majority in action are the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mostly in France, Germany and Austria. These countries provide thirteen of the twenty plays; America three, the British Isles two, Russia and Spain one each. This is in line with the editor's intention to increase the range of modern European drama available in English beyond the staple products of Ibsen, Strindberg, Chekhov, and Pirandello; and the collection not only enhances the reader's knowledge of the theatre but also his awareness of literature as a whole, and, through it, of the values on which modern life is built.

The collection is also a reminder that any literary movement or style can make good theatre. Musset's Fantasio, Grabbe's Mollfels, Buechner's Danton, impulsive figures involved in passionate and extreme but perfectly credible actions, belie the charge that the Romantic emphasis on the egotistic and the lyrical makes Romantic drama a contradiction in terms. In our own day, the sort of introspection that we find in Grabbe reappears in Cummings' *Him*, which is a projection of a poet's complex self onto a stage agreeably cluttered with personages who seem to have wandered in from Greek myth, the circus, Chaplin comedies, and all over. Yet it is as dramatic, in its way as stagings of tragic myths, which one might think more appropriate to the form than are the mental and moral predicaments of writers. Giraudoux *Electra*, Obey's *Venus and Adonis*, Cocteau's *The Infernal Machine* turn out to be easier to stage, perhaps, but no more stageworthy, than dramatize Portraits of the Artist such as we find in Grabbe and Cummings, and also, to some extent, in Wedekind's more naturalistic but no less subjective piece, *The Marquis of Keith*. Verse, too,

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proves still an effective medium of theatre—though surely it has been more strikingly used in the past century and a half than in Yeats' *A Full Moon in March* or in MacNeice's radio play, *The Dark Tower,* which draws too heavily on too many sources. One looks forward to more impressive verse plays in later volumes, such as Spender's *Trial of a Judge,* which Mr. Bentley mentions as a possibility. Epic theatre, represented in two works of Brecht, presents still another way of stating ideas as theatre: not in terms of established nineteenth-century conventions, as in Wedekind and Becque, but as a sort of dialogue between author and audience on the subject of the action. It works, too. The only item that might be weak on the stage, it seems to me, is Francis Ferguson's adaptation from Mark Twain, *The King and the Duke.* This is a little too quaint, too deliberately a period-piece. On the whole, Mr. Bentley's choices demonstrate that, if it takes all kinds to make a world, any kind can make the world a stage.

The translations are recent; some were done specially for the collection. They all read well, though David Magarshack's free version of Ostrovsky is excessively slangy—British slang, at that—and one suspects the over-all accuracy of the translator who renders a stage direction of Grabbe's *will gehen,* as "will go."

These volumes are essential to any theatre library, but what about the theatre itself? Will the majority return to its element, thrusting aside the minority mannerisms of studio and playshop? Mr. Bentley is confident. Anticipating "an American theatre emptied of morons and peopled with men of good will," he affirms: "Our theatrical publishing front may be pushed back to the Rockies but—we shall return." Yet the obstacles are thick, even in the Rockies, and beyond: the blight of pseudo-urbanity is everywhere, and many little theatres and college drama departments merely spread it. But when people have had enough of gloss and vacuum, things may start moving. Meanwhile, this collection provides, if not a new theatre, at least a room with a view of it.

FRANK JONES

THE BELOVED COUNTRY

THE CHOICE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA, by E. S. Sachs (Philosophical Library; $5.75). THE PEOPLES AND POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA, by Leo Marquard (Oxford; $3.50). RACIAL SEPARATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, by E. P. Dvorin (Chicago; $4.50).

"SOUTH AFRICA is the greenest laurel on the brow of progress" wrote one exultant nineteenth-century liberal. "Nowhere do the progressive exert a more powerful and beneficent influence on the conduct of public affairs." Slavery was abolished at the Cape a generation before the institution came under fire in America, and without a civil war. The malcontent slave-owners were pushed out of the Colony and had to find a new home in the backveld. Even there they were not safe but were twice annexed, the second time they lost their political independence. This was twice restored to them by relenting Liberal Governments at Westminster in the hope that they would broaden and soften.

However, neither the experience of parliamentary government nor a prolonged prosperity has been able to arrest a process which today appears to be restoring the *status quo ante emancipationem.* Though the national income has risen threefold since the Depression and has all but wiped out poor whitism, civil liberties are being increasingly curtailed.

A spate of books, many of them surprisingly well-informed, draw morals, explain and peer into the future. Evidently the world wants to read about South Africa and the familiar ground is ploughed up again and again to yield ever new crops of the same staple of facts.

Of the present three authors one is a trade unionist; another an educator who was once a senior officer in the Union Defense Force; the third an American academic worker. The labor leader is the most optimistic and oldest fighter and he now finds himself behind prison bars for displeasing the Malan Government. Mr. Sachs's message to all European workers in South Africa is to drop ("me-too") racialism and adopt a New Deal philosophy across the color lines. Since South Africa is essentially a poor country, Leo Marquard—the solitary Boer in this batch of writers—advises his countrymen to accept each other and the English-speaking Europeans and the Indians and the Colored and the Bantu as in South Africa to stay for good. Collaboration should not be difficult if economics be given priority over politics. Mr. Dvorin going a step farther counsels liberals to stop banging their head against "Apartheid" barriers and accept the traditional attitudes while unfolding the positive aspects so that the Bantu can enjoy social services equal though separate.

The authors handle the particular emotional difficulties with which the Boers have to wrestle despite their bluff exterior with great fairness and sympathy. Speaking a language unknown in Europe but feeling themselves, assertively, Europeans; 1½ million of them recklessly pitched against world opinion; "apart" in a world convulsively drawing together; they persist in venerating their ox wagons of old (the symbol of the "volk") while embracing the cool comforts of the Chevrolet and the icebox. If modern technology menaces their way of life, it encourages them to cling the more grimly to their pre-industrial ideology and the harsh relationship of white master and black servant of those days. Their outlook may

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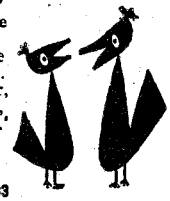

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be narrow but the Boer's ideal still is spaciously ambitious. He wants to own a farm large enough not to distinguish his neighbor's smoke on the horizon even if this implies driving out the African peasant. This is becoming more and more impossible of achievement. Not only is South Africa too small, it is wasting itself and the backveld is ablaze for all the world to see the smoke and the fire. This prompts the most crucial question of all: cannot the outside world do something to stop the passions from consuming the subcontinent? Although their books will obviously be more widely studied abroad than in the Union not one of the writers fully refers to possible action which might be taken. LEO SILBERMAN

WORK IN PROGRESS

ANNUAL REVIEW OF UNITED NATIONS AFFAIRS, 1951 edited by Clyde Eagleton and Richard N. Swift (New York University Press; $4.50).

THIS VOLUME is a record of the talks and discussions of the Third Institute of Annual Review of United Nations Affairs, conducted in New York in June, 1951, by New York University. The talks, made chiefly by UN officials, give a good account of what happened in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and in the Departments of the U. N. Secretariat during 1950-51. Particular attention is given to the effects of the aggression in Korea on the General Assembly.

The most interesting feature of the volume are the many questions raised in the course of the discussion. Is the United Nations a legal system, a political constellation, or a state of mind—or all these things at once? Would the elimination of the veto be important unless there was a change in the attitude of the Members of the U. N.? What is the role of the small Powers in the General Assembly? The discussion of these and similar questions enlivens the volume and makes it not only a valuable source of information but also a stimulant to thinking about the role of the United Nations in world affairs. LEWIS L. LORWIN

MILHAUD'S COLUMBUS

DIMITRI MITROPOULOS, who has performed a remarkable service in introducing rare operas to the American audience, was recently responsible for the first performance in these parts of Darius Milhaud's opera *Christopher Columbus*. With a fine cast headed by Mack Harrel and, of course, the New York Philharmonic (a much better orchestra than any theatre could afford), he gave a magnificent reading. *Columbus* is a kind of religious fantasy, based on a text by Paul Claudel, who, in spite of considerable evidence to the contrary, treats Columbus as the Christ-bearer, unifying the Catholic world. Starting with this contrivance, Milhaud builds a score which is contrived in every way, so that even the speaking voice is used as a percussion instrument, rhythmically precise against a rich and clangorous accompaniment. As is usual with Milhaud, the melodic content is strong and clear.

The texture of this opera is singularly varied. Rich choruses and intricate vocal writing are constantly balanced by the austere sound of speech. Tart dissonaries are handled with that clarity which is, perhaps, the best part of the French tradition. Straightforward, clean melodies are constantly bumping into each other in a most riotous way. One is reminded of the painting of Dufy, in which great patches of color splash into each other and simple lines become agreeably entangled.

Unlike Britten, Menotti and the other boys in the Puccini camp, Milhaud demonstrates a huge imagination, not only as a musician but also as a genius of the theatre. *Columbus,* of course, is grand; the body of his operatic work is wonderfully modest. His elegant little chamber opera, *Robin and Marion*, was performed last March at the Juilliard School, to the obvious delight of all concerned. But Milhaud remains absurdly neglected in this country, especially by the operatic theatre, for which he has written much of his best work. It is to be earnestly hoped that Mitropoulos' performance of *Columbus* will be a cue for putting Milhaud's operas—all of them—on the American stage. ROBERT EVETT

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THE *One-Party Press* PAID OFF

READERS of last week's *New Republic* learned to what lengths the one-party press went in pursuit of a Republican victory.

Others — indeed all literate persons — are aware that grave abuses occurred in the campaign and that the press, with very few exceptions, is a formidable obstacle to the discussion of new ideas and liberal opinions. Mass communication, now a mere handmaiden to commercial advertising, is big business and represents the business view.

What, then, can be done about it?

The *New Republic* is the *only* organ of the press edited and printed in Washington that supported Governor Stevenson. It will be the only publication edited in the Capital that can be counted on to treat the incoming Administration impartially. It can be counted on to uncover facts and report them that the one-party press may ignore or bury in the back pages.

The *New Republic* will continue to represent the millions who voted for Adlai Stevenson and who in many localities have no representation in the press whatever. It will continue to speak for those who seek something better for America than just a businessman's paradise—something stronger than an economy that rests on boom or bust. It will "talk sense to the American people."

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